μὲν τυράννῳ προσκρούων, ὑφ᾽ ᾧ ζῆν ᾕρητο μᾶλλον ἢ οἴκοι δημοκρατεῖσθαι, ἔπειτα Σικελιώτας μὲν ἐλευθερῶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δουλούμενος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν ἀπάγων τὸν Διονύσιον ἀπῆγεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ῥᾳθυμεῖν, αἱ γὰρ τοιαίδε σπουδαὶ ῥᾴθυμοι, καὶ οἱ τύραννοι δὲ αἱρετώτεροι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀνιέμενοι[1] *μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντες, εἰ γὰρ ἀνήσουσιν, ἧττον μὲν ἀποκτενοῦσιν, ἧττον δὲ βιάσονταί*[2] *τε καὶ ἁρπάσονται, τύραννος δὲ τραγῳδίαις ἐπιτιθέμενος ἰατρῷ εἰκάσθω νοσοῦντι μέν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ θεραπεύοντι· αἱ γὰρ μυθοποιίαι καὶ αἱ μονῳδίαι καὶ οἱ ῥυθμοὶ τῶν χορῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἠθῶν μίμησις, ὧν ἀνάγκη τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ φαίνεσθαι, μετακαλεῖ*[3] *τοὺς τυράννους τοῦ ἀπαραιτήτου καὶ σφοδροῦ, καθάπερ αἱ φαρμακοποσίαι τὰς νόσους. ταῦτα μὴ κατηγορίαν Ἀντιφῶντος, ἀλλὰ ξυμβουλίαν ἐς πάντας ἡγώμεθα τοῦ μὴ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰς τυραννίδας, μηδὲ ἐς ὀργὴν ἄγειν ἤθη ὠμά.*

Λόγοι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ δικανικοὶ μὲν πλείους, ἐν οἷς ἡ δεινότης καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τέχνης ἔγκειται, σοφιστικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι μέν, σοφιστικώτερος δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας, ἐν ᾧ γνωμολογίαι τε λαμπραὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι σεμνή τε ἀπαγγελία καὶ ἐπηνθισμένη ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἀποτάδην ἑρμηνευόμενα παραπλήσια τῶν πεδίων τοῖς λείοις.

501 *ιϛ΄.* Κριτίας *δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς εἰ μὲν κατέλυσε*

[1] *ἀνειμένοι* Kayser; *ἀνιέμενοι* Richards.
[2] *δράσονται* MSS., Kayser; *δράξονται* Jahn; *βιάσονται* Cobet; *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 574 B; *διασπάσονται* Richards.
[3] *μεταβάλλει* Kayser; *μετακαλεῖ* Cobet.

for provoking a collision with a tyrant under whom he had chosen to live rather than be under a democracy at home; secondly he was wrong in trying to free the Sicilians, whereas he had tried to enslave the Athenians. Furthermore, in diverting Dionysius from writing tragedy he really diverted him from being easy-going; for pursuits of that sort belong to an easy temper, and their subjects may well prefer tyrants when they are slack rather than when they are strung up. For when they slacken their energies they will put fewer men to death, they will do less violence and plunder less; so that a tyrant who occupies himself with tragedies may be likened to a physician who is sick, but is trying to heal himself. For the writing of myths and monodies and choric rhythms and the representation of characters, the greater part of which necessarily present what is morally good, diverts tyrants from their own implacable and violent temper as taking medicines diverts the course of disease. What I have just said we must not regard as an indictment of Antiphon, but rather as advice to all men not to provoke tyrants against themselves, or excite to wrath their savage dispositions.

A good many of his legal speeches are extant, and they show his great oratorical power and all the effects of art. Of the sophistic type there are several, but more sophistic than any is the speech *On Concord*, in which are brilliant philosophical maxims and a lofty style of eloquence, adorned moreover with the flowers of poetical vocabulary; and their diffuse style makes them seem like smooth plains.

16. CRITIAS the sophist, even though he did over-

τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, οὔπω κακός — καταλυθείη γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ δῆμος οὕτω τι ἐπηρμένος, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν κατὰ νόμους ἀρχόντων ἀκροᾶσθαι — ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐλακώνισε, προὐδίδου δὲ τὰ ἱερά, καθῄρει δὲ διὰ Λυσάνδρου τὰ τείχη, οὓς δ᾽ ἤλαυνε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ στῆναί ποι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφῃρεῖτο πόλεμον Λακωνικὸν ἀνειπὼν ἐς πάντας, εἴ τις τὸν Ἀθηναῖον φεύγοντα δέξοιτο, ὠμότητι δὲ καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ τοὺς τριάκοντα ὑπερεβάλλετο βουλεύματός τε ἀτόπου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυνελάμβανεν, ὡς μηλόβοτος ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἀποφανθείη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης ἐκκενωθεῖσα, κάκιστος ἀνθρώπων ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ξυμπάντων, ὧν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ ὄνομα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ὢν ἐς τάδε ὑπήχθη, ἔρρωτο ἂν ὁ λόγος τοῖς φάσκουσιν ὑπὸ Θετταλίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνῃ ὁμιλίας παρεφθορέναι αὐτόν, τὰ γὰρ ἀπαίδευτα ἤθη εὐπαράγωγα πάντως ἐς βίου αἵρεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄριστα μὲν ἦν πεπαιδευμένος, γνώμας δὲ πλείστας ἑρμηνεύων, ἐς Δρωπίδην δ᾽ ἀναφέρων, ὃς μετὰ Σόλωνα Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξεν, οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτίαν τὸ μὴ οὐ κακίᾳ φύσεως ἁμαρτεῖν ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ αὖ κἀκεῖνο ἄτοπον Σωκράτει μὲν τῷ Σωφρονίσκου μὴ ὁμοιωθῆναι αὐτόν, ᾧ πλεῖστα δὴ συνεφιλοσόφησε σοφωτάτῳ

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[1] A favourite oratorical theme; *cf.* Thucydides iii. 58.

[2] For the disorder and licence of the Thessalians *cf.* Plato, *Crito* 53 D, and the proverb "Thessalian forcible persuasion" in Julian and Eunapius.

throw democratic government at Athens, was not thereby proved to be a bad man; for the democracy might well have been overthrown from within, since it had become so overbearing and insolent that it would not heed even those who governed according to the established laws. But seeing that he conspicuously sided with Sparta, and betrayed the holy places[1] to the enemy; that he pulled down the walls by the agency of Lysander; that he deprived the Athenians whom he drove into exile of any place of refuge in Greece by proclaiming that Sparta would wage war on any that should harbour an Athenian exile; that in brutality and bloodthirstiness he surpassed even the Thirty; that he shared in the monstrous design of Sparta to make Attica look like a mere pasture for sheep by emptying her of her human herd; for all this I hold him to be the greatest criminal of all who are notorious for crime. Now if he had been an uneducated man, led astray into these excesses, there would be some force in the explanation of those who assert that he was demoralized by Thessaly[2] and the society that he frequented there; for characters that lack education are easily led to choose any sort of life. But since he had been highly educated and frequently delivered himself of philosophical maxims, and his family dated back to Dropides who was archon at Athens next after Solon, he cannot be acquitted in the sight of most men of the charge that these crimes were due to his own natural wickedness. Then again it is a strange thing that he did not grow to be like Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, with whom above all others he studied philosophy and who had the reputation of being the wisest and the most just

τε καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δόξαντι, Θετταλοῖς δ' ὁμοιωθῆναι, παρ' οἷς ἀγερωχία καὶ ἄκρατος καὶ τυραννικὰ ἐν οἴνῳ σπουδάζεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ Θετταλοὶ σοφίας ἠμέλουν, ἀλλ' ἐγοργίαζον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μικραὶ καὶ μείζους πό-
502 λεις ἐς Γοργίαν ὁρῶσαι τὸν Λεοντῖνον, μετέβαλον δ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ κριτιάζειν, εἴ τινα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἐπίδειξιν ὁ Κριτίας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ ἠμέλει μὲν τούτου, βαρυτέρας δ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐκεῖ δυνατοῖς καὶ καθαπτόμενος μὲν δημοκρατίας ἁπάσης, διαβάλλων δ' Ἀθηναίους, ὡς πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτάνοντας, ὥστε ἐνθυμουμένῳ ταῦτα Κριτίας ἂν εἴη Θετταλοὺς διεφθορὼς μᾶλλον ἢ Κριτίαν Θετταλοί.

Ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Θρασύβουλον, οἳ κατῆγον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς[1] τὸν δῆμον, δοκεῖ δ' ἐνίοις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι παρὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταφίῳ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐχρήσατο· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάνθω μηδένα ἀνθρώπων καλῶς δὴ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἵλετο, δι' ἅ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὰ φροντίσματα ἧττον σπουδασθῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὁμολογήσει ὁ λόγος τῷ ἤθει, ἀλλοτρίᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ δόξομεν φθέγγεθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ αὐλοί.

Τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου δογματίας ὁ Κριτίας καὶ πολυγνώμων σεμνολογῆσαί τε ἱκανώτατος οὐ

[1] φυγῆς Kayser; Φυλῆς Bentley, Cobet.

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[1] *i.e.* he lost his life in its cause. For this favourite figure *cf.* p. 590 and *Gymnasticus* 34; it is derived from Isocrates, *Archidamus* 45.

[2] An echo of Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 623; *cf.*

of his times; but did grow to be like the Thessalians, who maintain by force an insolent arrogance, and practise tyrannical customs even in their wine-drinking. However, not even the Thessalians neglected learning, but all the cities great and small in Thessaly tried to write like Gorgias and looked to Gorgias of Leontini; and they would have changed over and tried to write like Critias, if Critias had made any public display in their country of his own peculiar skill. But for this kind of success he cared nothing, and instead he tried to make the oligarchies more oppressive to the people, by conversing with the men in power there and assailing all popular government, and by falsely accusing the Athenians of an unheard of number of crimes; so that, taking all this into consideration, it would seem that Critias corrupted the Thessalians, rather than the Thessalians Critias.

He was put to death by Thrasybulus and his party who restored the democracy from Phyle, and there are those who think that he played an honourable part at the last, because his tyranny became his shroud.[1] But let me declare my opinion that no human being can be said to have died nobly for a cause that he took up in defiance of the right. And I believe that this is the reason why this man's wisdom and his writings are held in slight esteem by the Greeks; for unless our public utterances and our moral character are in accord, we shall seem, like flutes, to speak with a tongue that is not our own.[2]

As regards the style of his oratory, Critias abounded in brief and sententious sayings, and he

1 *Corinthians* xiii., "I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

τὴν διδυραμβώδη σεμνολογίαν, οὐδὲ καταφεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν
503 κυριωτάτων συγκειμένην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βραχυλογοῦντα ἱκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς καθαπτόμενον ἐν ἀπολογίας ἤθει, ἀττικίζοντά τε οὐκ ἀκρατῶς, οὐδὲ ἐκφύλως—τὸ γὰρ ἀπειρόκαλον ἐν τῷ ἀττικίζειν βάρβαρον—ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀκτίνων αὐγαὶ τὰ Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα διαφαίνεται τοῦ λόγου. καὶ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως δὲ χωρίῳ προσβαλεῖν Κριτίου ὥρα, καὶ τὸ παραδόξως μὲν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, παραδόξως δ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι Κριτίου ἀγών, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πνεῦμα ἐλλιπέστερον μέν, ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ λεῖον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Ζεφύρου ἡ αὔρα.

ιζʹ. Ἡ δὲ Σειρὴν ἡ ἐφεστηκυῖα τῷ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ σήματι, ἐφέστηκε δὲ καὶ οἷον ᾄδουσα, πειθὼ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν συνεβάλετο ῥητορικοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἤθεσι, πάρισα καὶ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτα οὐχ εὑρὼν πρῶτος, ἀλλ' εὑρημένοις εὖ χρησάμενος, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ περιβολῆς καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης καὶ κρότου. ταυτὶ δ' ἡτοίμασέ που καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους
504 γλῶτταν· Δημοσθένης γὰρ μαθητὴς μὲν Ἰσαίου, ζηλωτὴς δὲ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος ὑπερεβάλετο αὐτὸν θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ περιβολῇ καὶ ταχυ-

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[1] Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 24, satirizes the hyperatticism which consists in using obsolete or rare words; on the Atticism of the Sophists see Introduction.

[2] On the invention of προσβολαί by Gorgias see Glossary.

[3] For περιβολή see Glossary.

was most skilful in the use of elevated language, but not of the dithyrambic sort, nor did he have recourse to words borrowed from poetry; but his was the kind of elevated language that is composed of the most appropriate words and is not artificial. I observe, moreover, that he was a master of concise eloquence, and that even when he maintained the tone proper to a speech in defence, he used to make vigorous attacks on his opponent; and that he Atticized, but in moderation, nor did he use outlandish words [1]—for bad taste in Atticizing is truly barbarous—but his Attic words shine through his discourse like the gleams of the sun's rays. Critias also secures a charming effect by passing without connectives from one part of his speech to another.[2] Then, too, Critias strives for the daring and unusual both in thought and expression, yet his eloquence is somewhat lacking in virility, though it is agreeable and smooth, like the breath of the west wind.

17. The Siren which stands on the tomb of Isocrates the sophist—its pose is that of one singing—testifies to the man's persuasive charm, which he combined with the conventions and customs of rhetoric. For though he was not the inventor of clauses that exactly balance, antitheses, and similar endings, since they had already been invented, nevertheless he employed those devices with great skill. He also paid great attention to rhetorical amplification,[3] rhythm, structure, and a striking effect, and in fact it was by his study of these very things that Demosthenes achieved his eloquence. For though Demosthenes was a pupil of Isaeus, it was on Isocrates that he modelled himself, but he surpassed him in fire and impetuosity, in amplification,